

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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SAJ-01 DRC-01 /140 W

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R 121245Z JUL 74

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8769

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION USUN

S E C R E T NICOSIA 1333

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CY GR US

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH MAKARIOS

REF: STATE 150449

SUMMARY: ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS DESCRIBED TO AMBASSADOR "DELICATE SITUATION" ON ISLAND, SAID SITUATION WAS NOT CRISIS AND WOULD ONLY BECOME ONE IF GREEK RESORTED TO VIOLENCE. HE AFFIRMED HIS ABSOLUTE DETERMINATION TO STOP GREEK SUPPORT FOR TERROR AND SUBVERSION CONDUCTED BY EOKA-B AND DIRECTLY CHARGED GE. IOANNIDES WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR RE-EMERGENCE OF GEN. GRIVAS AND SUBSEQUENT CAMPAIGN AGAINST GOC. HE SAID IF GOG REFUSES HIS DEMANDS FOR END OF SUPPORT FOR EOKA-B AND FOR WITHDRAWAL OF GREEK OFFICERS, HE WILL PROCEED TO LIQUIDATE NATIONAL GUARD. HE CHARGED GREECE WITH BEING A GREATER THREAT TO AN INDEPENDENT CYPRUS THAN TURKEY. END SUMMARY

1. ARCHBISHOP SUMMONED AMBASSADOR TO PRESENT FULL ACCOUNT OF
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BACKGROUND AGAINST WHICH HE DESPATCHED LETTER TO ATHENS DEMANDING

BOTH END OF GOG SUPPORT FOR EOKA-B AND REMOVAL OF GREEK OFFICERS FROM NATIONAL GUARD. HE SAID THIS WAS A "DELICATE SITUATION" RATHER THAN A CRISIS AND WOULD BECOME A CRISIS ONLY IF GOG RESORTED TO VIOLENCE.

2. ARCHBISHOP SAID BASIC PROBLEM WAS GOG SUPPORT OF EOKA-B ATTEMPTS TO REMOVE HIM OR OVERTURN THE GOVT BY PROVIDING LEADERSHIP, FUNDS AND ARMS. HE SAID CERTAIN CIRCLES IN ATHENS HAD OVER PAST YEARS SUPPORTED EFFORTS TO KILL HIM OR OVERTURN GOVT. TO MY QUESTION AS TO IDENTITY OF THOSE INVOLVED, HE SAID CATEGORICALLY THAT GEN. IOANNIDES WAS PRINCIPAL MOVER BOTH UNDER PAPADOPOULOS REGIME AND SINCE HE HAD BECOME POWER BEHIND GREEK GOVT. HE AND HIS COHORTS HAD ENCOURAGED GRIVAS RETURN AND HAD PROVIDED EOKA WITH ARMS AND FUNDS AS WELL AS LEADERSHIP.

3. ARCHBISHOP REFERRED TO THEFT OF A LARGE QUANTITY OF ARMS FROM NATIONAL GUARD AND SAID THESE HAD BEEN PASSED TO EOKA WITH COMPLICITY OF NG CHIEF OF STAFF GEN. PAPADAKIS. PAPADAKIS WAS IOANNIDES' INSTRUMENT IN NATIONAL GUARD AND HE RATHER THAN NG COMMANDER GEN. DENISIS WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES. FOLLOWING ARCHBISHOP'S DEMAND THAT ARMS BE RECOVERED, GEN. DENISIS HAD NEGOTIATED RETURN WITH EOKA LEADERS, BUT PAPADAKIS HAD GONE TO THE LATTER AND TOLD THEM TO DISREGARD DENISIS.

4. ARCHBISHOP SAID NO INDEPENDENT GOVT COULD TOLERATE CONTINUANCE OF THIS SITUATION. GREEKS HAD NOT RESPONDED TO HIS EFFORTS TO HALT ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES AND HE HAD NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO ISSUE ULTIMATUM TO ATHENS. HE WAS ABSOLUTELY DETERMINED TO BRING AN END TO HOSTILE ACTIONS BY GREEK JUNTA AGAINST HIS GOVT. IF THE GREEKS FAILED TO RECTIFY DISGRACEFUL SITUATION AND AGREE TO GOC CONTROL OF NATIONAL GUARD HE WOULD DISSOLVE NATIONAL GUARD AND GREEK OFFICERS COULD STAY ON AS TOURISTS IF THEY CHOSE.

5. ARCHBISHOP SAID GREEKS WERE COUNTERING WITH CHARGE THAT HE WAS PULLING RULU FROM UNDER DEFENSE OF GREEK WORLD IN FACE OF GROWING TURKISH THREAT. IN FACT, ATHENS GOVT WAS GREATER THREAT TO CYPRUS THAN WAS TURKEY.

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6. SHOULD THE DISPUTE BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY RESULT IN CONFLICT, ARCHBISHOP FELT CYPRUS LESS LIKELY TO BE INVOLVED IF GOC RATHER THAN GREECE IN CONTROL OF FORCES ON ISLAND.

7. PRES. MAKARIOS SAID HE COMPLETELY FAILED TO SEE RATIONALE OF IOANNIDES GROUP IN SEEKING TO SUBVERT GOVT OF CYPRUS. FALL OF GOVT COULD ONLY OPEN PANDORA'S BOX AND MAKE MORE LIKELY CONFLICT ON ISLAND AND IN AREA. ALTHOUGH A

GREEK, HE, MAKARIOS, AS PRESIDENT OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE WOULD NO LONGER TOLERATE ASSISTANCE TO GROUPS SEEKING TO DESTROY THAT STATE.

8. I THANKED THE PRESIDENT FOR THIS ACCOUNT, NOTED THAT GREEK AUTHORITIES WERE AWARE OF OUR VIEW THAT RESORT TO VIOLENCE WOULD EXACERBATE CYPRUS PROBLEM AND THAT USG OPPOSED TO ACTIVITIES TENDING TO THREATEN STABILITY IN EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN, PEACEFUL RELATIONS AMONG OUR ALLIES, AND THE SINGLE, SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATUS OF CYPRUS. IN THIS CONTEXT WE HOPED THESE ISSUES BETWEEN CYPRUS AND GREECE WOULD BE RESOLVED SPEEDILY CONSISTENT WITH CYPRUS SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE AND SECURITY, AND WITH BROADER INTEREST OF STABILITY IN THE REGION. THE PRESIDENT RESPONDED THAT HE WELCOMED THESE REMARKS BUT REITERATED THAT ESSENTIAL STEP WAS THE WITHDRAWAL OF IOANNIDES SUPPORT FOR TERROR AND SUBVERSION ON THE ISLAND. HE GAVE NO INDICATION HE SEEKING ANY U.S. INTERVENTION WITH ATHENS ON GOC BEHALF.

9. I RECALLED DISCUSSION WITH HIM IN 1970 ON THE THEN RECENT SUCCESS OF COMMUNIST LIST IN NICOSIA ELECTIONS, AND ASKED WHETHER HE FELT THAT IF INDEED SOME GREEK WERE SUPPORTING ANTI-GOVT ACTIVITIES IN CYPRUS, THESE MIGH BE MOTIVATED BY FEAR THAT INFLUENCE OF CYPRIOT COMMUNISTS CONSTITUTED THREAT TO HELLENIC WORLD. THE PRESIDENT REPLIED HE THOUGH THIS WAS SO BUT THAT IT REPRESENTED A VAST MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE SITUATION IN CYPRUS. NOT ALL WHO VOTED FOR THE LEFTISTS WERE COMMUNISTS AND COMMUNISTS SUPPORTED HIS GOVT BECAUSE IT WAS IN THEIR INTEREST, NOT HIS, FOR THEM TO DO SO. SUPPORT FOR MAKARIOS GAVE THE GROUP A CERTAIN RESPECTABILITY. ARCHBISHOP SAID IT WAS GOG ACTIONS THAT PROVIDED OPPORTUNITIES FOR COMMUNIST EXPLOITATION. THE JUNTA WAS DOING MORE TO PROMOTE COMMUNISM ON CYPRUS, AND IN GREECE ITSELF, THAN ANY
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OTHER FACTOR.

10. THE PRESIDENT SAID HE WOULD NOT HIDE FROM ME HIS DISTASTE FOR MILITARY REGIMES IN GENERAL, AND THE IOANNIDES REGIME IN PARTICULAR. AT SAME TIME HE HAD NOT GIVEN OPPONENTS OF REGIME OPPORTUNITY TO USE CYPRUS AS A BASE TO WORK FOR ITS OVERTHROW. HE WOULD NOT TOLERATE GREEK OPPOSITION LEADERS MOVING TO CYPRUS WHETHER IT BE FROM PARIS, THE U.S., OR OTTAWA. SPECIFICALLY, HE SAID ANDREAS PAPANDREOU WOULD NOT BE WELCOME IN CYPRUS.

11. ARCHBISHOP CONCLUDED BY REAFFIRMING HIS GREAT ADMIRATION FOR U.S., PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY AND FOR WHAT THEY WERE ACCOMPLISHING FOR WORLD PEACE. HE APPRECIATED INTEREST OF USG IN CYPRUS INDEPENDENCE AND WANTED WASHINGTON FULLY TO

UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION INTO WHICH HE HAD BEEN FORCED. HE
SAID HE WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO ME AT ANY TIME I OR MY GOVT
HAD CONCERNS OR NEED FOR INFORMATION ON DEVELOPMENTS AS THEY
ENSUED. AS I TOOK LEAVE REWSFIRMING OUR HOPE FOREARLY RESOLU-
TION TO PROBLEM, HE REPEATED HIS ASSERTION HE WAS ABSOLUTELY
DETERMINED TO DEFEND INDEPENDENCE OF CYPRUS AND OF HIS
GOVT.

DAVIES

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